

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3623

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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1. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF KEY PORTIONS OF PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S STATEMENT DURING SEPTEMBER 27 PRESS CONFERENCE CONCERNING EUROPEAN DEFENSE, NUCLEAR TESTING AND STRATEGY, AND RELATIONS WITH GERMANY. COMMENTS FOLLOW BY SEPTTEL.

2. EUROPEAN DEFENSE.

QUOTE. QUESTION. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE MOMENT HAS ARRIVED FOR THE COMMUNITY OF NINE TO THINK OF ASSURING ITS SECURITY, ITS OWN SECURITY, ITS DEFENSE BY ASSEMBLING THE MEANS OF THAT SECURITY?

QUOTE. RESPONSE. ... WHEN THERE WILL BE A EUROPEAN POLICY (UNE POLITIQUE DE L'EUROPE) THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN SECURITY WILL INEVITABLY BE RAISED, AND THUS THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE. BUT WE MUST NOT PUT THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE. AT THE PRESENT TIME THE EFFORTS OF EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES, WHETHER ALONE OR WITHIN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, COMBINE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE

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SECURITY OF EUROPE. AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID, THAT SECURITY IS

ALSO TIED TO THE PRESENCE, WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, OF THE UNITED STATES AND THEREFORE TO THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN EUROPE. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THIS IS NOT CONTRARY TO ANY GAULLIST OR NON-GAULLIST FORMULATION, BUT THE PROBLEM OF AN AUTONOMOUS EUROPEAN DEFENSE, REALLY AUTONOMOUS AND SELF-SUFFICIENT, IS NOT A PROBLEM FOR TODAY. END QUOTE.

3. NUCLEAR TESTING AND STRATEGY.

QUOTE. QUESTION. THE FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS IN THE PACIFIC HAVE PROVOKED MORE PROTESTS THIS YEAR IN FRANCE, EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. DOES NOT THAT POSE PROBLEMS FOR THE FUTURE AND IS NOT THERE AN ABSENCE OF INFORMATION ON THE PART OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT?

QUOTE. RESPONSE. THERE ARE ALWAYS PROBLEMS AND THERE IS ALWAYS A SHORTAGE OF INFORMATION. OUR NUCLEAR TESTS THIS YEAR HAVE IN FACT PRODUCED SOME PROTESTS. SOME OF THESE PROTESTS WERE A BIT ABSURD, OTHERS INVOLVED A CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL HYPOCRACY CONSISTING OF TAKING VISIBLE EXTERNAL POSITIONS FOR REASONS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS OR DOMESTIC POSTURING. AND ONLY CHRISTIAN CHARITY AND DIPLOMATIC COURTESY RESTRAIN ME FROM LISTING THE GOVERNMENTS WHICH PROTESTED AGAINST OUR TESTS AND, WHEN OUR AMBASSADORS MADE CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS TO THEM, TOLD US: BEGIN SINGLE QUOTE: DO NOT ATTACH ANY IMPORTANCE TO WHAT WE SAY BECAUSE WE DID IT FOR REASONS OF PUBLIC OPINION; IT DOES NOT MEAN ANYTHING. END SINGLE QUOTE. THIS IS NOT TRUE OF ALL COUNTRIES BUT IT IS TRUE OF MANY AND I WOULD SAY EVEN OF THE MAJORITY. OTHER REACTIONS IT SEEMS TO ME WERE DICTATED BY A TYPE OF PROFOUND HUMANITARIANISM OR VISCERAL PACIFISM WHICH DID NOT REFLECT ON THE CONSEQUENCES OR WISH TO CONSIDER THEM. I RESPECT THE MOTIVES EVEN WHILE REGRETTING SOMEWHAT THAT PROTESTS OCCURRED AT ORLEANS OR AT VERDUN, WHICH ARE TWO OF THE MOST HISTORIC LOCATIONS IN OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE; BUT IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO BELIEVE THAT A POLICY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IS A REACTIONARY ATTITUDE. CERTAINLY IT WAS THE PROFOUND FRENCH REFUSAL TO SURRENDER THAT GUIDED JEANNE D'ARC ON THE ROUTE THAT LED HER FROM VAUCOULEURS TO THE BLOCK IN ROUEN BUT THE MOTTO, BEGIN SINGLE QUOTE: LIVE FREE OR DIE, END SINGLE QUOTE, IS A REVOLUTIONARY MOTTO. IT IS THE MOTTO OF DANTON, OF SAINT-JUST, OF CARNOT.

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IT MOTIVATED AS WELL THE SOLDIERS OF KELLERMAN AT VALMY AND THE SOLDIERS OF MARSHALL PETAIN AT VERDUN. IT IS THE SAME SPIRIT THAT MOVED THE RESISTANCE FIGHTERS. IT ANIMATED THE FIGHTERS OF FREE FRANCE, IN THE FIRST RANKS OF WHICH WE FIND, AND NOT BY CHANCE, PIERRE MESSMER AND ROBERT GALLEY. AS A RESULT WE INTEND TO CONTINUE OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE EFFORT, ALTHOUGH NOT BECAUSE WE ARE HOSTILE TO DISARMAMENT. WHO MORE THAN FRANCE HAS AN INTEREST IN DISARMAMENT? WE DO NOT CLAIM ANYTHING FROM ANYONE.

WE DO NOT HAVE ANY TERRITORIAL CLAIMS REGARDING ANYONE. OUR
ANCIENT ENEMIES ARE TODAY OUR FRIENDS, OUR ALLIES, OUR PARTNERS.
HOWEVER, DISARMAMENT MUST BE REAL DISARMAMENT, SIMULTANEOUS AND
NOT SIMPLY FOR THE GOAL OF MAINTAINING IN THEIR CURRENT STATE
THOSE WHO ARE ARMED OR OVER-
ARMED, AND HINDERING OTHERS FROM ARMING THEMSELVES. OTHERWISE,
IT IS A FALSE DISARMAMENT WHICH LEADS TO SLAVERY OR TO A PARODY,
AND ONE CAN EXCUSE FRANCE FOR YIELDING NEITHER TO THE ONE NOR TO
THE OTHER. MOREOVER, FRANCE IS OBLIGED TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR ARMS
FOR TECHNICAL REASONS: WE SUFFERED SO MUCH IN 1914 AND AGAIN IN
1940 BY ALWAYS BEING BEHIND BY ONE TYPE OF WEAPON AND BY ONE
WAR; AND FOR FINANCIAL REASONS, BECAUSE ATOMIC WEAPONS ARE CHEAPER
THAN THE CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED
IF WE RENOUNCED ATOMIC ARMS. IN 1972 THE MILITARY BUDGETS OF
THE FRG AND THE UK WERE LARGER THAN THE FRENCH MILITARY
BUDGET, WHICH DEMONSTRATES THAT WE ARE NOT A PARTICULARLY AGGRESSI-
VE NATION. NOW WE COME TO THE REASONS
WHY WE NEED DETERRENT FORCE. SOME MAKE FUN OF THE DETERRENT, BUT
THE PROOF THAT THE DETERRENT EXISTS, AND IS IMPORTANT, IS THAT
THE TWO GREAT POWERS, THROUGH THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE VOL-
UNTARILY LIMITED THEIR EFFORTS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST
NUCLEAR ARMS. THEY HAVE IN MAINTAINING THIS VULNERABILITY AND
THEN ACCEPTING THE RISKS ONE ACTUALLY REDUCES THE RISKS. ONE DOES
NOT KNOW, AND I WILL NOT GIVE YOU ANY INFORMATION, TO WHAT DEGREE
OF NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT WE HAVE ARRIVED, BUT WE ARE FURTHER...
IRWIN

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ALONG THAN ONE WOULD BELIEVE. IT HAS NOT BEEN NOTICED THAT WE ARE NO LONGER SOLELY DEPENDENT ON OUR MIRAGE 8; BUT THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TACTICAL NUCLEAR BOMBS, AND AT THE SAME TIME, SSBNS WHICH, UNTIL FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES OCCUR (JUSQU'A NOUVEL ORDRE) ARE INVULNERABLE, AND THAT AS A RESULT TO PREPARE OUR POLICY OF DETERRENCE IS TO HAVE THE EVENTUAL MEANS OF A FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND NOT SIMPLY OF AN ACT OF SUICIDE. IT IS NOT OUR FAULT IF WE ARE BEHIND. IT IS NOT THE FAULT OF GENERAL DE GAULLE OR HIS GOVERNMENTS NOR OF MY GOVERNMENTS IF FRANCE, FOR YEARS AND YEARS, HAS WASTED A MILITARY BUDGET, WHICH WAS ONE-THIRD OF THE GENERAL BUDGET, IN COLONIAL WAR LETTING FRANCE AND THE FRENCH ARMY BECOME ENGAGED IN THE DISASTROUS WAR IN INDOCHINA OR IN THE DEPLORABLE ALGERIAN CONFLICT. IT WAS NOT THE GOVERNMENTS OF GENERAL DE GAULLE AND IT WAS NOT MY GOVERNMENTS. I ADD, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC, IN SPITE OF THIS, WERE THE FIRST TO DECIDE TO OBTAIN NUCLEAR ARMS. THIS BEGAN WITH A DECREE OF MENDES-FRANCE IN OCTOBRE 1954. IT IS TRUE THAT HE WAS REPLACED
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SEVERAL MONTHS LATER BY EDGAR FAURE WHO DECLARED THAT HE IS NOT INTERESTED IN ATOMIC ENERGY EXCEPT IN ITS PEACEFUL FORM, BUT TO SET THE HISTORICAL RECORD STRAIGHT, I MUST SAY THAT WITHIN HIS GOVERNMENT AN AGREEMENT WAS PASSED WHICH PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION FORTY-SEVEN BILLION OLD FRANCS FOR WHAT WAS CALLED IN VALIED TERMS STUDY AND RESEARCH AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WHICH YOU WILL WELL UNDERSTAND WHEN YOU REALIZE THAT THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE FURNISHED AND CONTROLLED TWENTY BILLION FRANCS OF THAT AMOUNT. THAT SUM WAS INCREASED TO SIXTY BILLION FRANCS BY MINISTER GUY MOLLET WHO LAUNCHED THE PROTOTYPE OF THE MIRAGE III. IT WAS MINISTER GAILLARD WHO, IN FURTHER INCREASING THIS SUM AND SAYING CLEARLY THAT IT CONCERNED THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BEGAN THE NUCLEAR TESTS, AND THE FIRST TEST WAS TO PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE SPRING OF 1960. GENERAL DE GAULLE MERELY RATIFIED THIS DECISION AND THIS CHRONOLOGY. BUT GENERAL DE GAULLE RESUMED THE EFFORT AND LET IT TO A GOOD CONCLUSION. I WILL CONTINUE IT, AND MY GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE IT. I SAY IMMEDIATELY THAT THE TESTS, WHETHER THEY ARE IN THE AIR OR UNDER THE GROUND WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN A MANNER AND UNDER CONDITIONS OF SECURITY SO THAT THEY WILL NOT PRESENT A DIRECT OR INDIRECT RISK TO ANYONE. ALL THE OFFICIAL REPORTS

MOREOVER DEMONSTRATE THIS. YOU GIVE ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO PUBLICLY
THANK OUR SCIENTISTS, OUR ENGINEERS, AND OUR MILITARY MEN FOR
THE EFFORT WHICH THEY MAKE IN EVERY AREA AND IN PARTICULAR THEIR
EFFORTS TO GIVE TO FRANCE THAT WHICH IS THE BEST GUARANTEE OF ITS
STABILITY, OF ITS PEACE, AND OF ITS TRANQUILITY IN EUROPE,
AND I ADD THE TRANQUILITY OF EUROPE, EVEN IF WE DO NOT OVER-
ESTIMATE OUR CAPABILITIES IN COMPARISON TO CERTAIN OTHERS.
END QUOTE

4. RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

QUOTE. QUESTION. MR. PRESIDENT, SINCE A MINISTER OF YOUR
GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLICLY EXPRESSED HIS OPINION THAT, IN HIS VIEW,
THE GERMANS ARE BEGINNING TO TURN AWAY FROM EUROPE, THERE IS
ONCE AGAIN TALK OF A FRANCO-GERMAN CRISIS, OF THE FEAR OF FRANCE
AND EVEN THAT OF ITS PRESIDENT THAT GERMANY COULD ONE DAY TURN
AWAY FROM EUROPE PREFERRING GERMAN REUNIFICATION, EVEN NEUTRALITY,
RATHER THAN A CONCEPTION OF EUROPE. CAN YOU GIVE US YOUR VIEWS
ON THIS OPINION, THIS FEAR, AND THESE RUMORS?

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QUOTE. RESPONSE. I BELIEVE THAT THE RECONCILIATION AND THE
FRANCO-GERMAN ENTENTE WHICH WAS CONFIRMED BY THE TREATY OF JANUARY
1963, CONSTITUTE THE NECESSARY ELEMENT AND I WOULD ADD THE
FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE AND OF STABILITY
IN EUROPE. CONTRARY TO WHAT HAS BEEN WRITTEN IN THE GERMAN PRESS,
I AM NOT BSESSED BY GERMANY. I BELIEVE I CAN SAY ALSO THAT THE
CONVERSATIONS THAT I HAD WITH CHANCELLOR BRANDT LAST SUMMER IN
BONN WERE AMONG THE MOST USEFUL AND THE MOST CANDID. AND I
BELIEVE AS A RESULT THAT THE FRANCO-GERMAN ENTENTE MUST REMAIN
A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT IN THE POLICIES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.
AND, IN ANY CASE, IN THE POLICY OF MY COUNTRY I ASSURE YOU.
HAVING SAID THAT, THE OSTPOLITIK OF CHANCELLOR BRANDT, WHICH WE
HAVE APPROVED, ENCOURAGED AND FASCILITATED-- THAT POLICY CANNOT,
IN LIGHT OF THE GERMAN SITUATION, BUT LEAD ONE TO PERCEIVE SOME
PROBLEMS. TO DENY IT WOULD BE ABSURD BUT I AM DELIGHTED THAT THE
CHANCELLOR HAS, ON DIFFERENT OCCASIONS AND AGAIN RECENTLY,
AFFIRMED AND REAFFIRMED THAT OSTPOLITK ONLY LED HIM TO ASSOCIATE
HIMSELF MORE WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE AND WITH THE ENTENTE
WITH WESTERN EUROPE. IT IS CLEAR THAT WHEN ONE COMES TO PRACTICAL
QUESTIONS AND WHEN ONE POSES THE PROBLEM OF THE PRICE
OF A GRAIN OR OF BUTTER OR OF SUGAR OR OF CARROTS WE ARE NOT
NECESSARILY OF THE SAME VIEW. IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT OUR SITUATIONS
ARE NOT THE SAME AND THAT, AS A RESULT, WE NEED FROM TIME TO TIME
AND EVEN FREQUENTLY, TO HARMONIZE OUR POSITIONS. THAT IS WHY I
BELIEVE STRONGLY I MORE PERSONAL CONTACTS. BUT, I REPEAT, THERE
IS NO CRISIS BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY, THERE MUST NOT BE ANY
SUCH CRISIS, BECAUSE EVERYTHING WOULD BE UPSET, TO THE
DETRIMENT OF FRANCE AND TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.
IRWIN

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